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PARTICIPATION OF ADULTS IN EDUCATION, A FORCE-FIELD ANALYSIS.
BY- MILLER, HARRY L.
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VARIOUS SOCIOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORIES RELATING TO MOTIVATION ARE POTENTIALLY USEFUL TOOLS FOR PREDICTING AND INFLUENCING ADULT EDUCATION PARTICIPATION. MASLOW'S NEED HIERARCHY IS BASED ON FUNDAMENTAL NEEDS (SURVIVAL, SAFETY, AND BELONGING), WHICH ARE NORMALLY FOLLOWED BY EGO NEEDS (RECOGNITION OR STATUS, ACHIEVEMENT, AND SELF-REALIZATION). THE WARNER AND GANS SOCIAL CATEGORIES ARE LOWER-LOWER CLASS (MAIN TARGETS OF ANTIPOVERTY PROGRAMS), WORKING CLASS (COHESIVE AND PRAGMATIC, WITH HIGH UNION MEMBERSHIP), LOWER-MIDDLE CLASS (THE MOST ACTIVE JOINERS AND VALUE SETTERS IN OUR SOCIETY), AND UPPER-MIDDLE CLASS (LARGELY EXECUTIVE AND PROFESSIONAL PEOPLE), EACH WITH DISTINCT VALUE SYSTEMS, ASSOCIATIONAL STRUCTURES, AND RELATIONSHIPS TO TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE FINALLY, LEWIN'S FORCE-FIELD ANALYSIS, HERE USED AS THE OVERALL FRAMEWORK FOR DISCUSSION, TREATS MOTIVES FOR PARTICIPATION OR NONPARTICIPATION AS PRODUCTS OF POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE FORCES, BOTH PSYCHOLOGICAL AND SITUATIONAL, WHICH SHAPE EDUCATIONAL NEEDS AND DESIRES. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SOCIAL CLASS AND PATTERNS OF ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIP SUGGEST THAT SOME FORMS OF PARTICIPATION CAN BE INCREASED BY REACHING PEOPLE IN THEIR OWN ORGANIZATIONS. THE DOCUMENT INCLUDES FOOTNOTES AND FORCE-FIELD DIAGRAMS. THIS DOCUMENT IS ALSO AVAILABLE FROM THE CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS, 138 MOUNTFORT STREET, BROOKLINE, MASSACHUSETTS 02146, FOR $0.75. (AUTHOR/LY)

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A Force-Field Analysis

HARRY L. MILLER

CENTER *for the* STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS
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PARTICIPATION OF ADULTS IN EDUCATION

A Force-Field Analysis

Harry L. Miller
Associate Professor
Hunter College

CENTER *for the* **STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS**
at Boston University

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INTRODUCTION

This paper by Harry L. Miller was originally written as a background piece for the study of adult education which A. A. Liveright conducted for the U. S. Office of Education in 1966. We publish it now as an Occasional Paper because we believe that its unusual blending of dynamic theories of sociology and psychology is of great significance to researchers and programmers in adult education.

The theoretical construct which is developed here makes it possible to take a fresh look at many of the problems which plague those who are concerned with the relationship of motivation to planning and teaching in adult education. Adult educators are currently showing increasing concern for doing a better job in meeting the needs of constituencies they are already serving in the affluent middle class. In addition there is a gnawing concern for the failure of educational institutions as currently constituted to gain access to the poor for educational purposes.

The paper is built around three theoretical formulations: Abraham Maslow's hierarchy of needs, Kurt Lewin's dynamic theory of force-field, and social class theories of W. L. Warner and Herbert Gans. Harry Miller skilfully demonstrates how research and programming ideas can be derived from careful consideration of the implication of these theories for each social class and for individuals at various stages of social and personal development.

It is an important contribution because it is a model for thought and action.

Peter E. Siegle

From the earliest period of the self-conscious adult education movement, there has been a continuing interest in the motivations which lead people to participate in voluntary educational programs and a substantial amount of research dealing with the question. The research has been, almost without exception, completely empirical, gathering data from one body or another of adult participants and putting them in whatever order seems reasonable and interesting.

There are, to be sure, great extremes of sophistication in both methodology and interpretation among these studies. Dowling's "A Study of Adult Education Participants in Green Bay, Wisconsin"[1] is a good example of those surveys (their name is legion) which manage to violate so many canons of good data-gathering that, like the author, the reader is unable to decide what conclusions, if any, he can properly draw. At the other extreme, Davis' study of Great Books participants[2] exhibits careful sampling techniques, the development of some ingenious measuring devices, and a series of interpretations vitally connected to recent sociological theory. Much the same can also be said for the most recent NORC survey,[3] which covers the entire field instead of concentrating on one program.

Whatever differences there may be among them, however, all such studies suffer from a lack of a guiding framework that would suggest in advance what phenomena we should be looking for. It is presumptuous to talk in this connection about theory-building; like most fields of educational research we are very far from ready for that advanced activity. We can do little more at this point than sketch in some hypothesized relations among the variables which appear to have some bearing on the appearance

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1. W. D. Dowling, "A Study of Adult Education Participants in Green Bay, Wisconsin," Journal of Experimental Education, Vol. 32, No. 1, Fall, 1963.

2. J. A. Davis, A Study of Participants in the Great Books Program (Fund for Adult Education, 1960).

3. John W. C. Johnstone and Ramon Rivera, Volunteers for Learning (Chicago, Illinois: Aldine Publishing Co., 1965).

in our programs of some adults rather than others, in some programs rather than others, at particular times rather than others. Without such a guide we are condemned forever to repeating status surveys and refining our empirical categories to the point of meaninglessness.

Far more important, until we begin a search for significant relationships instead of static categories, our data on motivations leave us helpless in the face of two necessary tasks: making tentative predictions about future trends in participation, that is, stating that under certain conditions there ought to be a rise in participation in particular programs; and developing plans for increasing participation in desirable educational activities by indicating what changes we would have to make in the existing situation to achieve the increase.

The hope of eventually improving our power to deal with those tasks dictates the general form of this paper and, in particular, my choice of Lewin's force-field analysis as its main structural device.[4] Lewin's suggestion that we look at such high-level abstractions as "production," "consumption," or "participation" as an equilibrium that results from the innumerable decisions of large numbers of individuals exactly fits the requirements of our present problem. His analysis of this equilibrium as a product of positive and negative forces, both psychological and situational, provides us with a useful tool for identifying the important variables in participative behavior and for estimating what changes we would have to make in those forces if we are to change the present equilibrium.

SOME PRELIMINARY ASSUMPTIONS

The study of human motivation has been so perplexing that many behaviorists have argued that we ought to discard the whole concept. Even the animal experimenters have their problems, in a setting in which it is possible to control observed behavior precisely. One cannot help but think that animals seem determined to prove whatever their masters hypothesize when, after thousands of rats and monkeys had confirmed the thesis that animals learn only under conditions of basic need deprivation, Harry Harlow's monkeys, stuffed to satiation and with mouth pouches full

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4. K. Lewin, "Frontiers in Group Dynamics: Concept, Method and Reality in Social Science," Human Relations, Vol. 1, No. 1, June, 1947.

of raisins, placidly sat around the laboratory solving lock puzzles, driven only by curiosity and playfulness.[5]

Human motivation as an object of study is made even more complex by our necessary reliance on verbal reports. Aside from the obvious kinds of unreliability to which such data are susceptible, there is a real question whether many people really are fully aware of what motivates them to certain complicated types of behavior. It seems reasonable, then, to build a general framework for looking at educational program participation by starting not with empirical reports of what people tell us about their motivation, but with what we know more generally about the human animal and the society he lives in. The resulting model of how individuals ought to participate can then be tested against existing empirical data, as well as used to suggest further investigation.

In most cases, participation in adult educational activities is voluntary, and thus represents a person's commitment of time and energy in competition with his desire to participate in a number of other activities.

1. We must assume, therefore, that his willingness to undertake the activity demonstrates some personal need, and it happens that there are available a number of already developed systems for categorizing human needs, which agree remarkably well with each other, from Aristotle to the present. One does not need to buy all of philosophical realism to accept the existence of some fundamental and relatively unchanging human characteristics, most notably our basic drives, and in the following analysis, I will use Maslow's conception of the need hierarchy as the explanation for the primary purposes which lead people to participate in voluntary programs.[6]

2. But personal needs do not operate in a vacuum; they are shaped, conditioned, and channeled by the social structures and forces of the human society in which each individual is born. Each of us is driven by survival needs, but the survival behavior of a primitive hunting tribesman is far different from that of the organization man in western industrial society. Each of us must

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5. H. F. Harlow, "Mice, Monkeys, Men, and Motives," Psychological Review, Vol. LX, No. 1, 1953.

6. A. H. Maslow, Motivation and Personality (New York: Harper and Row, 1954).

satisfy a need for emotional response, but the family pattern of one culture may require us to seek that satisfaction within a tightly organized, fiercely loyal kinship system, and in another within the ambiguous relationships of a small nuclear family group. The second major component of the analysis, then, will consist of a consideration of some social forces at work in our society which stimulate or inhibit the operation of personal needs for the growth possibilities offered by education.

3. I assume, further, that one can expect to find patterns of interaction between the two major variables of personal needs and social forces, and that any particular pattern will generally result in the same level of participation. Thus:

    1. When strong social forces and strong personal needs move people toward a particular educational objective, the congruence should result in a high level of participation in programs relevant to that objective.

    2. When strong personal needs among a particular group of people move them toward an educational objective, but there are no supporting or facilitating social forces, the participation level will be low generally, but erratically and spottily high.

    3. When personal needs in a particular group are weak, but social forces are strong, participation originally will be fairly high, but may drop sharply after an initial period.

    4. When personal needs and social forces conflict, the participation level will depend on the strength of the social force in the given situation, but there will be a considerable amount of tension within the program itself.

THE NEED HIERARCHY AND SOME APPLICATIONS

Most schemes of primary needs—Thomas' Four Wishes, for example—are content to suggest a series of important drives without elaborating any systematic relationship among them. The broad usefulness of Maslow's conception derives from his proposition that needs are arranged hierarchically from the lowest and most fundamental to the highest, and that a higher need is not activated until a person has attained some level

of satisfaction of the needs below it. His suggested hierarchy looks like this:

Self-realization
Achievement
Recognition (status)
Belonging
Safety
Survival

Survival is, of course, the most fundamental of animal as well as human drives, and by putting it at the lowest level Maslow suggests that until this need is satisfied, no other need is likely to be activated. This is a generalization with some exceptions, to be sure; the combat team that risk their lives may be doing so in response to a mixture of other, higher needs, convinced that the ultimate safety of the culture depends on it, or for recognition, or because of the challenge of difficult achievement.

Normally, however, survival, in whatever terms the person sees it, comes before the activation of higher needs, and in industrial societies we tend to see it as a gain of marketable skills. Because rapid technological development results in shifts in skill demands, adult education is dominated by job training, where one finds the highest consistent level of participation. The safety need reinforces this domination because in this culture the greatest perceived deprivation is an economic one, and the most general threat is the loss of a job.

Belonging needs draw us into a whole range of associations from the deep emotional needs we seek to satisfy in marriage to the pervasive needs for acceptance by the members of whatever groups are important to us. That this is not an insignificant motivation for adult participation in programs is clear from the NORC study, which found that 23 per cent of the women and 11 per cent of the men responding named the goal "to meet new and interesting people" as a reason for taking courses. More indirectly, programs aimed at education for family life and the like obviously tap this general interest.

These three needs are the most fundamental ones in Maslow's scheme, and above them he puts a series of "ego needs" which do not become powerful motivators unless these basic ones are at least minimally satisfied. It is certainly true that the drive for recognition

through status is a potent one, particularly in the middle class, which need not be greatly concerned about either survival or safety, and whose stable family structure and active organizational life provide adequate satisfaction of belonging needs. Indeed, as I shall point out later, the middle class person can successfully make his belonging needs do service to his wish for career and advancement. The NORC study reports, in confirmation, that "men and women from lower-socio-economic positions were much more likely to take courses to prepare for jobs than to advance on them, while the opposite was true of participants from higher social positions."

A second ego need, achievement, describes a motivator that is possibly more generally distributed than recognition; at least some recent industrial theory suggests that it ought to be built into more blue-collar work situations. The advances of mechanization and assembly-line operations have eliminated most of the satisfaction that the artisan used to get from hand operations, and in much of industry, research tells us, men are likely to feel that they have achieved something worthwhile only by fooling the time-study man. That they can also achieve status among their peers by doing so artfully and successfully, indicates how closely linked these two ego needs often are.

It is less clear how the achievement drive directly affects participation in adult education, and a reasonable hypothesis might be that its effect is an indirect one which might be stated as a series of linkages in this way: the more education a person has, the more he is likely to seek in his maturity, as the NORC study and others have shown; higher levels of education are associated with a considerable degree of persistence toward relatively distant goals, which in turn is associated with high levels of achievement need, as shown by the studies of McClelland and Rosen.[7] This particular need, therefore, operates by increasing the salience of education generally for an individual.

Finally, the capstone of Maslow's hierarchy is the need for self-realization, a drive that leads us to make of our self the most that it is capable of being, that reaches toward never-ending attempts at perfec-

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7. D. McClelland, J. W. Atkinson, R. A. Clark, and E. L. Lowell, The Achievement Motive (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1953); B. C. Rosen, "Race, Ethnicity, and the Achievement Syndrome," American Sociological Review, XXIV, 1959.

tion. "Everyone," says Redfield, "is an unfinished piece of development." It is the rare person in whom this need is a dominant one, but many others are engaged in satisfying it at least fitfully. It is a need at which many programs of continuing education aim, and the one that infuses the rhetoric of liberal arts college bulletins; but it is in such short supply that most of the programs flounder for lack of patronage, and the bulletins turn out to be an empty sham.

Yet in the long run, there is little reason to accept these failures as final. Implicit in Maslow's need scheme is the notion that all humans are capable of seeking satisfaction at every need level, given two conditions. The first, as I have mentioned, is that minimal satisfaction of the lower levels has been achieved, and the second is that the life situation of the person both permits and encourages need-seeking at a particular level. There are probably a great many more persons today actively seeking satisfaction of recognition needs than there were a century ago, and fifty years from now there may well be a higher proportion operating on the achievement and self-realizations levels. It may be difficult to define the <u>great</u> society, but there is some general agreement that the good society, at least, is one which shapes an environment in which most of the people, some of the time, can seek self-realization.

The need hierarchy, then, appears to fit very well the immediate realities of the participation pattern of adult education, with major participation in programs aiming at the satisfaction of lower need levels, tapering off at the higher levels; it matches the social class differentiations that we know of. It also shows an interesting congruence with age and the life cycle. It is reasonable to argue, for example, that the early stages of adulthood are primarily concerned with satisfaction of the three lowest stages—getting established in a decent, stable job and beginning a family. As the cycle proceeds, the older person begins to devote energy to achieving status (a rough generalization which I shall later modify), and to achievement in his field of work (the highest level of productivity is not reached until the forties and fifties). It is the rare person who begins to think about the meaning of his own life and the value of selfhood before he reaches his forties.

THE SOCIAL VARIABLES

By itself, the dimension of personal need contributes a good deal to an understanding of adult participation, but it cannot provide an accurate assessment of the forces at work in the whole picture. Some notion of what those forces are, and their magnitude, can emerge only from a consideration of personal needs as they interact with relevant social variables. I have chosen as particularly relevant three social variables which are of considerable scale and great importance: social class value systems, technological change, and associational structures. The analysis will focus on the variable of social class values and consider the other two as subsidiary factors affecting them. The assumption is made throughout the following discussion, in agreement with Gans, that class values are not independent and immutable, but depend to a great extent on the structure of opportunities available to a given social class.

Social class, as an important influence on participation in adult education, has received very little systematic attention in the field. Everyone is aware of the obvious that, with the exception of those engaged in job training, most participants are middle class, but practitioners conclude from this that their publicity and recruiting procedures must be at fault, or that they ought simply to write the lower class off. Given the strong correlation between educational level and social class, university adult educators are probably correct in making the latter assumption. One university program director I know makes it in a very sophisticated way; when he puts together a new mailing list for course announcements, he hires a few graduate students to drive around residential areas until they find a neighborhood of houses that cost between 20,000 and 40,000 dollars, and collect all the addresses within that area.

The only extensive piece of research into class variations in adult education participation, however, was conducted by London, Wenkert, and Hagstrom[8] some years ago in California, and what they found confirmed the more general findings of all research on the values of the social classes. The following discussion, therefore, draws upon the whole body

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8. Jack London, Robert Wenkert, and Warren O. Hagstrom, Adult Education and Social Class (Berkeley, California: University of California, December, 1963).

of class-value materials, and leans particularly on the summary of those materials by Gans.[9]

The lower-lowers, who are the primary target of the current anti-poverty programs, are the only group which is actually hostile to education, because it conflicts with basic life values arising out of their class position on the bottom of the heap. An unstable work and family life encourages an action- and excitement-orientation, a belief in luck and fate, and an absorption in the immediate present. To all of these values, education is inimical because it requires a strong enough belief in a future payoff to give up present gratifications. Current attempts to draw lower-lower men into job training programs are interesting examples of the fourth possibility of the model I suggested earlier—one in which personal needs and social forces conflict. The social forces in this situation are comparatively mild, based as they are only on persuasion; there has been very little effectiveness and, because the social forces are not very strong, not very much tension around the programs.

It is important to note, however, that hostility to the educational process is primarily characteristic of the male culture in this class, and that the women, who yearn for stability, are motivated by higher personal needs which are congruent with the social forces pushing toward skill training. This, of course, reflects not so much a sex difference as a difference in the opportunities open to men and women. If poverty programs can in the future offer realistic, stable job opportunities at the end of training programs, there is no reason to suppose that the action-orientation of the lower-lower culture will not change in response to real changes in the structure of opportunities.

Working class values present an interesting contrast to those of the class below. Although the working class youth is action-oriented, as he approaches adulthood the gang slowly breaks up, and he is absorbed into the routine-seeking peer group culture characteristic of all working class groups, in which the dominant values are economic security and group loyalty. On Maslow's need hierarchy these clearly fall on the second and third levels, safety and belonging, needs which are far more susceptible to channeling by social forces toward continuing education. In fact, the working class value system strongly emphasizes education

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9. H. J. Gans, The Urban Villagers (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1962).

in a very limited sense; the payoff does not have to be immediate, but there must be some promise of a practical reward such as higher pay or a better job.

One of the most powerful forces in the educational picture, consequently, results from the congruence of the working class safety need with the extraordinarily strong social drive toward technological change and development. On the industrial scene these two are in conflict, as unions resist change in order to safeguard jobs, but to the extent that workers and some unions recognize the inevitability of technological advance, safety becomes congruent with educational opportunity. If technological refinement were the only social force at work, however, one could only predict a continuation of the present working class participation pattern in education. In fact, with very little increase in the proportion of blue-collar jobs, there is a very rapid growth in service occupations and white-collar jobs in general. The result should be to put steady pressure on working class adults who no longer can find skilled blue-collar jobs to submit to re-training for jobs which they previously had not perceived as appropriate ones for them. One might predict, on the basis of our third model, that participation at the beginning of such re-training programs would be high, but that it would rapidly drop off because the weakness of the mobility drive in the working class person is nowhere near the strength of the society's need for new white-collar skills. What evidence we have from attempts at re-training in depressed areas supports such a generalization; it is not difficult to recruit unemployed working class persons to such programs, but it is hard to retain them.

The emphasis in working class values on the belonging need presents quite a different picture and generates a set of restraining forces on other kinds of education. As Gans describes the peer group culture of the working class, its primarily personal orientation, cohesiveness, and group loyalty, all admirable and satisfying qualities, serve also to isolate it from the institutional life-stream of the larger society, which is overwhelmingly middle class in orientation and staffing. Life is perceived largely in terms of "them" against "us," and involves a wholesale rejection of the object orientation of middle class life, its tendency to regard as important such abstractions as "career," "justice," "truth," "community," "the good of the organization."

Most of the associations devoted to attaining such abstract goals, in fact, are solidly middle class; the working class plugs into the network of associations, where it does so at all, only through unions and the church. The vast amount of adult education that goes on under associational auspices, and which represents, to my mind, the single greatest future area for the expansion of meaningful continuing education, misses the working class target almost entirely. The unions, with few exceptions, share their members' strictly practical view of education and so do the predominantly working class churches.

Yet any change in the participation patterns of the working class is likely to come through the strengthening of social pressures which can be congruent with existing values and the needs they reflect. As union leadership becomes itself more middle class, for instance, union education programs within the familiar and comfortable group context of that working class institution may make a breakthrough to less immediate and more far-reaching goals. The shorter work week may add an incentive to the development of such programs, as, indeed, may the need of the unions to hold on to declining memberships.

A far longer range possibility, if this general view of operating forces is accurate, lies in the ultimate effect resulting from the shift in labor force composition to white-collar and service jobs. As larger numbers of working class youngsters are trained for these fields, the impact on their values of new work group membership may have an effect which is at the moment incalculable, but probably considerable. As safety and belonging needs are satisfied in new contexts, higher needs may well be activated.

The lower-middle class value system, with its emphasis on mobility and status and a concentration on satisfying belonging needs within the nuclear family rather than in the adult peer group, makes it a prime consumer of continuing education. Lower-middles are thoroughly at home in a future-oriented culture, and one in which abstractions assume great importance, and thus find their needs mainly in congruence with the larger social forces.

"Progress" is a basic good and each new development in technology is welcomed not only because it demonstrates our virtue as a society, but because it offers hope for family movement as well. Status is sought

not only by the breadwinner through job improvement, but by the wife and children in community associations, in which election to the club presidency or the winning of more merit badges contribute to the general family status, as well as to the self-esteem of the individual.

Education, therefore, is seen primarily as a means of achieving status, and because, unlike the lower needs, ego needs are less susceptible to satiation, status-seeking and the education necessary to it tend to continue. Furthermore, because the goal of lower-middle striving is upper-middle status, either executive or professional, some members adopt upper-middle values in a process that the sociologists call "anticipatory socialization." There is, in the general attitudes toward education of the lower-middle class, consequently, a strain of the upper-middle professional concern with self-development and achievement, apart from any status these confer.

The forces in relation to adult education participation within this class, then, are almost all sustaining ones. Their socio-economic status needs are in tune with the technological forces operating in society; their community status needs involve them in associational activities which are natural channels for educational programming, and their years of successful schooling have accustomed them to effort-reward sequences which are congruent with the Puritan ethic firmly embedded in their system of values. As the NORC report notes: "The adult education participant is just as often a woman as a man, is typically under forty, has completed high school or more, enjoys an above average income, works full-time and most often in a white collar occupation, is married and has children, lives in an urbanized area but more likely in a suburb than a large city, and is found in all parts of the country."

The culture of the upper-middle professional class, although it shares some of the values of the lower-middles, shows some striking differences. The emphasis on the nuclear family is the same, as are the orientation to abstractions and the general congruence with the major forces of the society which they help to run. But there is a devotion to career achievement that transcends an interest in status for status' sake; a great concern for self-development that separates self from the family unit; and a cosmopolitanism that directs attention away from community and local associational concerns to national and international ones.

One area in which the difference can be seen most strikingly is in their relation to children, as Gans points out. The lower class generally is adult-oriented; children are desirable, but peripheral to adult activities. The lower-middles are child-centered, paying a great deal of attention to children, and insisting only on behavioral conformity to the class norms. The upper-middles, though they are enormously concerned with children, emphasize not behavioral conformity but self-development, an insistence that the child develop self-awareness and potentialities for growth, even if it be in directions that the parent cannot foresee. Although it looks child-centered, it is in this sense what Gans called adult-directed.

Another distinction that must be made here is between executive and professional upper-middle cultures. The executive class value system is considerably closer to the Puritan ethic of the lower-middles, as is their attitude toward child development, in contrast to the value the professionals put on relativism and tolerance of others' values. Yet, as I have suggested in another context, much of executive human relations training is an apparently successful attempt by the professional upper-middles to persuade their executive counterparts to adopt their values, and as one notes the kind of girls that rising young executives marry, and the growth of the liberal Republican wing, the eventual coalescence of these two upper-middle cultures does not seem improbable.

As for participation in continuing education, the sustaining forces in both groups are clear and strong. The upper-middles create and implement the technological shifts which provide either trouble or opportunity for other social class levels, education is a comfortable and familiar tool for "keeping up with the field" and improving skills, and the corporation and firm pays for it. All of this is congruent with the driving forces of development in both fields of knowledge and business organizational life.

The field of executive development does provide some areas of conflict, however. Where the educational programs involved in such development concentrate only on technical or organizational theory, all is congruent. But many large-scale enterprises are now persuaded by the behavioral scientists of the validity of a quite different image of the manager himself than the one appropriate to the Puritan ethic, and, as in the fourth of the interaction patterns suggested earlier, both the participa-

tion level and the tension generated in such programs are very high. But Maslow's thesis, that if the situation permits the play of a higher need level that need is likely to emerge as a motivator of behavior, suggests that if the manager is convinced that the organization will really permit and recognize the expression of achievement and self-realization needs, he will change through such programs.

The associational networks of the upper-middles, though not tied to local communities, also represent fertile fields for continuing education, and devote a good deal of time already to such efforts. And, as an example of the second interaction model, the professional class respond often to educational programs aimed primarily at self-development; because this is a personal need response without any very strong supporting social forces present, participation tends to be spotty and scattered.

THE CRUCIAL FACTOR OF ACCESS

The foregoing analysis, on a number of occasions, has referred to the difficulty of reaching some social class strata through established associational networks and to the ease of doing so with others, and this whole matter is of such significance generally that it merits some separate treatment.

So long as the adult educator confronts a situation in which both personal need and social force move together toward the educational satisfaction of some need, it is relatively efficient to employ a marketplace technique for educational offerings. A strong and visible demand is met by providing an adequate supply, through some impersonal marketing device such as a catalog or newspaper announcement. Those who are sensitized by need respond individually to the announcement and appear at the appropriate supply source.

But a marketplace analogy does not work very well in situations where the forces involved are weak or conflicting, as all adult educators interested in programming outside the vocational area have known for a long time. Even in that area, attempts to provide training in usable skills for the unemployed or to upgrade skills of workers displaced by automation have often miserably failed, most often when they have proceeded on the marketing assumption.

The stress in this paper on the relation of social class member-

ship to the associational life of the society suggests my belief that we can encourage higher rates of participation in some types of adult education only by abandoning a market psychology and developing instead strategies for working with people in organizations to which they already have ties. Some kinds of vocational skill upgrading have already shifted to this orientation almost completely; most management training, for example, is now conducted by companies employing their own training staffs, and the training of lower levels of supervisory personnel is moving rapidly in the same direction. Although most large companies will pay the tuition of individual employees who wish to upgrade themselves at some school or college, they are finding it increasingly more efficient to offer certain kinds of training at their own plants. The federal government too has recently set up its own management training institution on Long Island, and New York City conducts its own program for supervisory skill training.

Parenthetically, an interesting feature of the willingness of many companies to pay for the education of their employees is that in many cases they will include in this bounty any kind of educational endeavor, not necessarily one with job relevance. To be sure, when the employees of the company turn up at a nearby evening college, in response to market techniques, they choose courses they think the company will see as relevant. But what is to prevent us from working with the company itself to develop courses outside the area of vocational competence, and ask its help in recruiting employees into them?

But the more general point, of course, is that in areas such as personal and family competence, citizenship, and self-development, participation in educational programs might well be considerably increased by getting people involved in the organizations to which they belong, or at least <u>through</u> these ties. To do so, adult educators will have to develop new strategies and new skills, to be sure; we have a good deal of expertise in writing catalogs and brochures and in developing mailing lists, but not very much in working out cooperative arrangements with associations.

Such an approach must confront the disparities in social class associational ties which the analysis pointed to. The most serious difficulties are clearly with the lower-lower class level, the very poor, with the most unstable work life, and the most desperate sense of alienation,

who have the fewest group memberships of any social group. Yet they are the most in need of the most fundamental kinds of education, those contributing to survival in an industrial society beginning to run short of unskilled jobs. Although religious associations are a feature of lower-lower life, their evangelical nature does not encourage an educational orientation; civil rights organizations attract mainly the middle class. The greatest potential, perhaps, lies in the neighborhood and community organizations which are often a feature of urban renewal situations or which are part of deliberate attempts to develop political consciousness within a community-based organization effort—Saul Alinsky's work, for example, or New York's Mobilization for Youth. This is to say, perhaps, that if we are to gain access to this class level through organizations, we must first create the organizations.

This is probably true for the men. There is at least one organization, however, to which most lower-lower women relate, tenuous as that connection often is: the school. But the majority of this social class lives in the cities, and the city slum school, with notable exceptions, has done remarkably little to establish contact with and influence the parents of its children. The remarkable results obtained by a small group of schools in St. Louis testify to the potential in such contact; in this instance a school administrator stopped wringing his hands over the poor response of parents to the routine attempts to involve them, and instead applied ingenuity and a great deal of work to the task. If the elementary and junior high schools of our inner cities were to experiment with developing a new form, the metropolitan community school, at least a partial answer to the problem of access might develop.

The working class, although generally aloof from the network of middle class associations, does have some strong organizational affiliations, mainly church and union. Since most denominations, these days, with the exception of the evangelical ones, seem prepared for some kind of meta-religious educational role, the churches in which working class families predominate hold at least an uncertain promise for encouraging participation. Labor unions, of course, have always been considered to have a great potential for general adult education; that the potential has never been realized is due to some very complex causes, too complex to discuss here, which may well be changing as unions face up to the

problems of greater leisure and of maintaining membership involvement in something other than routine business meetings.

The challenging fact is that in at least a few instances, unions have persuaded their members to enroll in educational programs of a kind to which outside adult educational agencies seldom succeed in recruiting working class students. The electrical workers' residential course in "how to think" is one example; the NILE ten-week university program for union executives is another, and one that adds a strong cautionary note about the need to reformulate the educational situation if we are to succeed with non-middle class clienteles, if we ever do gain access to them.

The lower-middle class, as noted, constitutes the backbone of most of our communities' associational structure; in the vocational area, at least, to stimulate further effort seems hardly necessary. Lower-middles respond very well to the individual marketing technique of educational institutions, and one has only to inspect the roster of conferences and institutes at any large state university to realize how eager their occupational associations are to keep their members abreast of the changing times.

To involve people at this level in educational programs in areas outside the occupational is a far more difficult matter. Some big city churches have public affairs programs, particularly those interested in attracting young adults, and probably more of them do some programming on family life and marriage. It is doubtful that much of this activity goes on in the smaller cities. Among religious organizations, the "Y" probably contributes most to adult education across a broad spectrum. Aside from an occasional single-shot lecture, the business men's associations and lodges do very little to foster general educational activities among their members, but might be persuaded to cooperate in doing so. How much participation could we get, one wonders, if a national organization such as Rotary actively encouraged the development of local public affairs committees, supplied them with materials for educational programs, and put them in touch with local colleges and universities for resource people?

The organizational network to which upper-middles tend to attach themselves is a somewhat different one, though the activity of their pro-

fessional and executive associations matches that of the lower-middle counterparts. University campuses teem with conferences of lawyers, doctors, managers, tax accountants, and school supervisors. In the community they tend to identify with upper-middle churches—the Episcopalian, for example—which encourage educational programs at every level, with special interest groups like the City Club in New York, which interests itself in urban problems, and with national groups such as the League of Women Voters. The question here is whether such associations can provide channels for self-developmental efforts as well, or whether this kind of education is not already well served for this group by the low-priced paperback and LP, high-quality magazines, and the public service staffs of the television networks. Only experimentation would tell.

A SUMMARY OF FORCES AND SOME RESEARCH SUGGESTIONS

On the concluding pages below (see pages 21-32), I have summarized diagrammatically the fields of forces influencing participation in each of four major areas of adult education activity for the four major social class levels, indicating how personal need emphases combine with class value systems and with external social forces to determine a given level of participation. These are, of course, the roughest kind of schematic approximations, and though I have estimated the relative strength of these forces by the thickness of the arrows, these are obviously, in many cases, based on the most ill-educated of guesses. In some cases, where I did not even have enough information to guess at a discrimination, I collapsed the class categories into lower vs. middle ones.

The analysis generally suggests several different types of research effort, the most basic of which would involve some attempt to validate the approach itself. Since the force-field conception was originally developed to account for the psychology of decision-making, any exploration of the framework's usefulness should probably begin by researching the "act of decision" by those who participate in adult education. Such an investigation would employ fairly long depth interviews aimed at doing precisely the opposite of a survey question. The latter tries to get the respondent to select one alternative from a list of all possible ones, to nar-

row the picture of choice to the most decisive or important one. The interviews suggested here would attempt to get as complete a picture of the alternatives considered by the respondent, and why he resolved the conflict in favor of participation; in other words, what were both the positive and negative forces acting on his individual decision.

To test the analysis, the number of the interviews is not crucial, and one could do very well with five or ten for each category. The selection of categories to match the analysis is crucial, and the problem of finding cases for every category is not a simple one. Where would one get five persons of genuinely lower-lower status, for example, engaged in some educational program which is dominantly self-developmental? The analysis itself suggests that finding such participants would be anomalous.

A second possibility, suggested by the importance given in the analysis to the problem of access, is some action research designed to test that thesis. Such a task would involve roughly the following steps, with data-gathering at each step designed to steer the subsequent steps:

1. Obtain agreement to cooperate in the study from a group of universities with staffs experienced in community work and a group of associations who will agree to work on the development of educational programs within their memberships. These associations might be either single-class organizations (a craft union, for example, or the Rotary), or organizations which run the class gamut (an industrial union, a community PTA, a national church).

2. Saturate the memberships of the selected organizations with a mailed announcement of adult education opportunities available in the community, permitting a response indicating some interest, as well as actual enrollment. This will provide a benchmark representing the effectiveness of the marketing approach.

3. Work out with designated education committees of the association and representatives of the educational agency a way of assessing educational needs of the members, and the most convenient formats for meeting them, from discussion groups to weekend residentials.

4. Phase 3 should be permitted to go on long enough for first re-

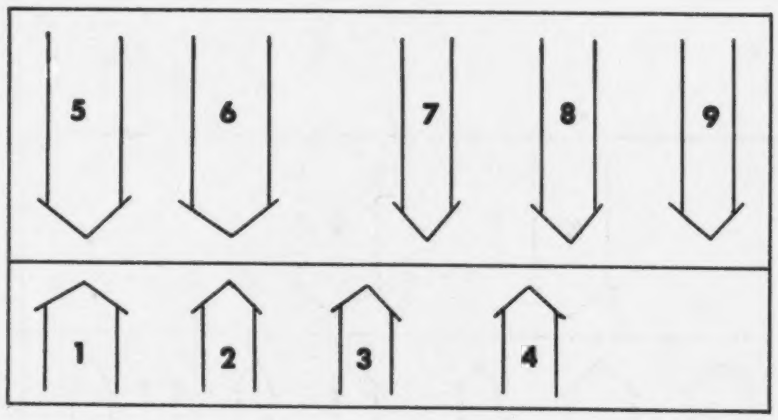
sults to be assessed and a second go-round of programs tried, before the experimental phase is considered to be completed.

The diagrams, mentioned earlier, appear on the following pages. As already indicated, these are intended to represent the effect of various forces in motivating different classes to participate in the several types of adult education—education for vocational competence, for personal and family competence, for citizenship competence, and for self-development.

EDUCATION FOR VOCATIONAL COMPETENCE

Lower-Lower Class Level

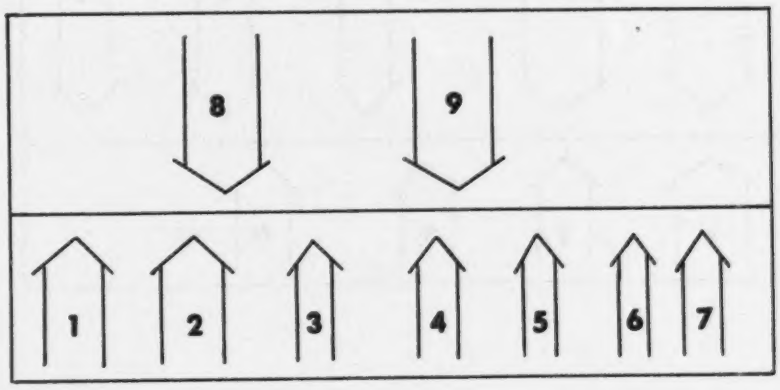
POSITIVE FORCES	NEGATIVE FORCES
1. Survival needs	5. Action-excitement orientation of male culture
2. Changing technology	6. Hostility to education and to middle class object-orientation
3. Safety needs of female culture	7. Relative absence of specific, immediate job opportunities at end of training
4. Governmental attempts to change opportunity structure	8. Limited access through organizational ties
	9. Weak family structure



Education for Vocational Competence (continued)

Working Class Level

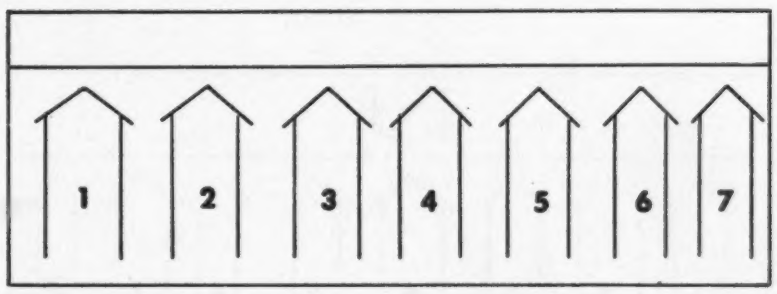
POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
1. Satisfied survival need	8. Fear of relinquishing belonging need satisfaction of peer group culture (weakness of mobility drives)
2. Strong safety need	9. Hostility to middle class object-orientation
3. Social shift to white-collar and service jobs	
4. Changing technology	
5. Union pressures toward upgrading and presence of organizational access	
6. Job stability	
7. Practical orientation toward education	



Education for Vocational Competence (continued)

Lower-Middle Class Level

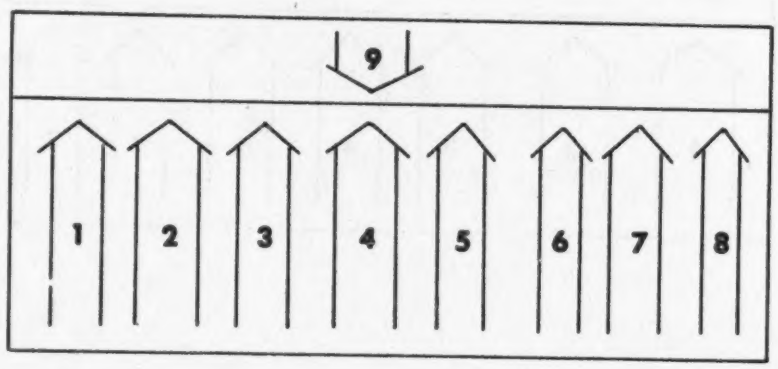
POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
1. Satisfied survival need	
2. Satisfied safety need	
3. Strong status need	
4. Changing technology	
5. Access through organizational ties	
6. Acceptance of middle class career drives	
7. Familiarity with educational processes	



Education for Vocational Competence (continued)

Upper-Middle Class Level

POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
1. Satisfied survival and safety needs	9. Threats to executive groups implicit in changing definition of business roles
2. Strong status needs	
3. Strong achievement needs	
4. Change forces in professions and business	
5. Growth of professional and executive positions in the economy	
6. Familiarity with education	
7. Acceptance of middle class career values	
8. Strong organizational identification	



EDUCATION FOR PERSONAL AND FAMILY COMPETENCE

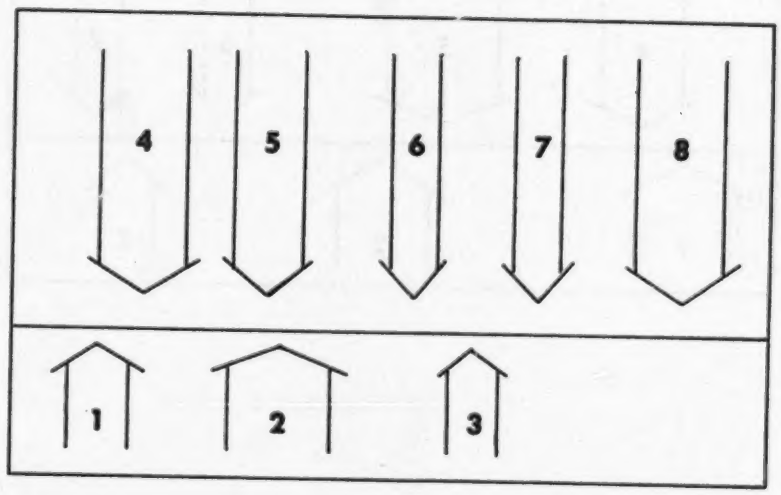
Lower-Lower Class Level

POSITIVE

1. Strong belonging needs in women
2. Mobility desires for children by women
3. Positive family values in some ethnic groups concentrated at the lower-lower level

NEGATIVE

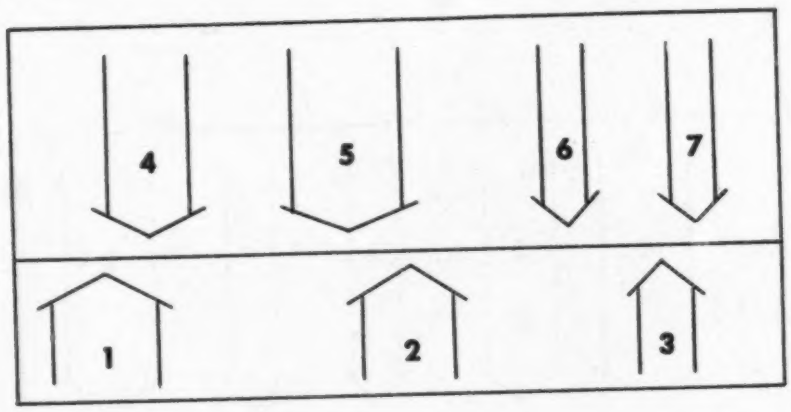
4. Necessity posed by economic position for concentrating on survival and safety needs
5. Unstable family structure of many at this level
6. Adult-centered culture
7. Organizational isolation
8. Isolation from middle class mainstream influences on family attitudes



Education for Personal and Family Competence (continued)

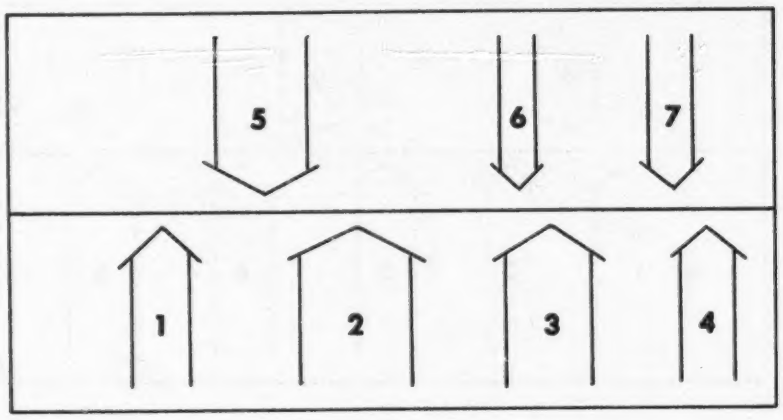
Working Class Level

POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
1. Strong belonging need	4. Practical orientation toward education
2. Stable family structure	5. Suspicion of middle class value system
3. Access through organizations	6. Isolation of peer group culture
	7. Adult-centeredness of family culture



Lower-Middle Class Level

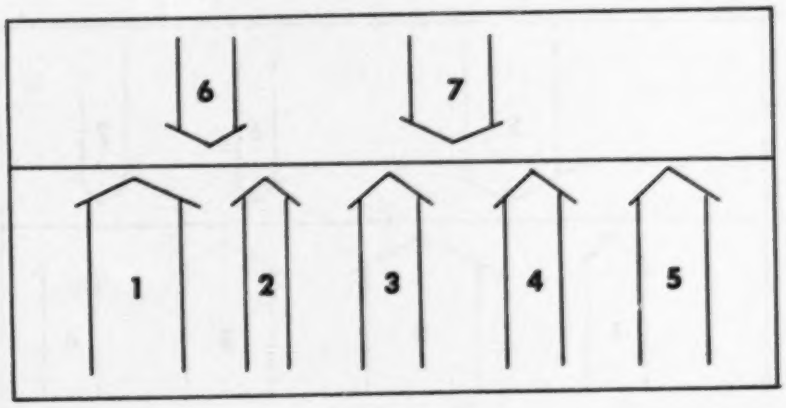
POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
1. Satisfied belonging need	5. Traditional value orientation (Puritan ethic vs. emergent values)
2. Strong status need (leading to anticipatory taking over of upper-middle values)	6. Stratification of family roles
3. Child-centered, nuclear family	7. Mass media satisfaction of needs in this area
4. Openness to mainstream value influences	



Education for Personal and Family Competence (continued)

Upper-Middle Class Level

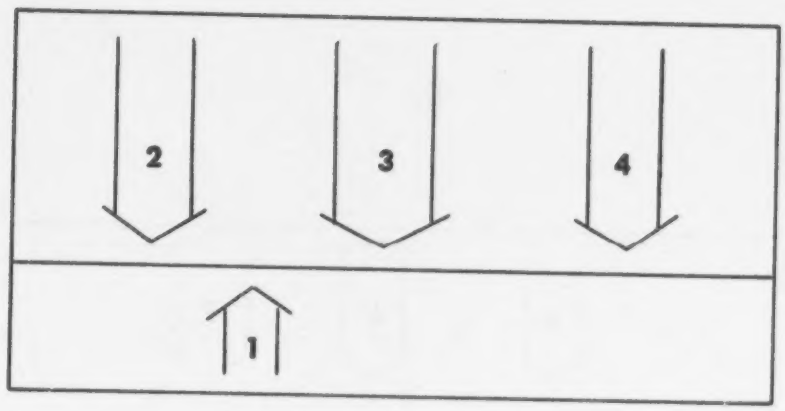
POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
1. Satisfaction of lower needs	6. Traditional orientation of business upper-middle males
2. Strong self-realization needs	7. Mass media satisfaction of needs in this area
3. Nuclear, child-oriented family structure	
4. Active, associational life	
5. Openness to mainstream value influences	



EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP COMPETENCE

Lower Class Level Generally

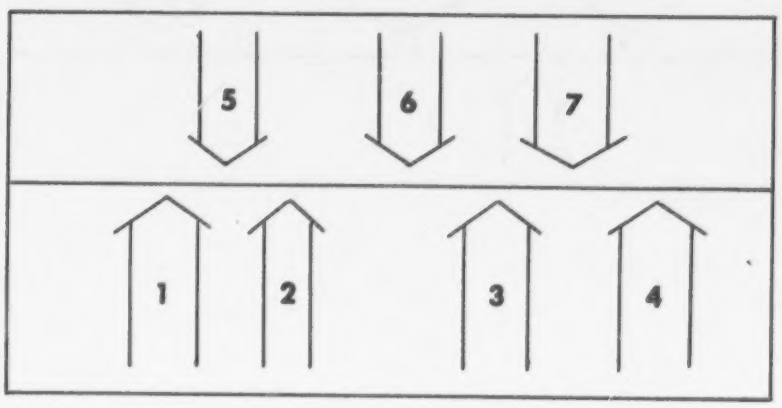
POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
1. Gradual reorientation of labor union attitudes	2. Restriction of belonging needs to peer group culture
	3. Alienation from middle class values and object-orientation
	4. Weakness of associational ties beyond economic



Education for Citizenship Competence (continued)

Middle Class Level Generally

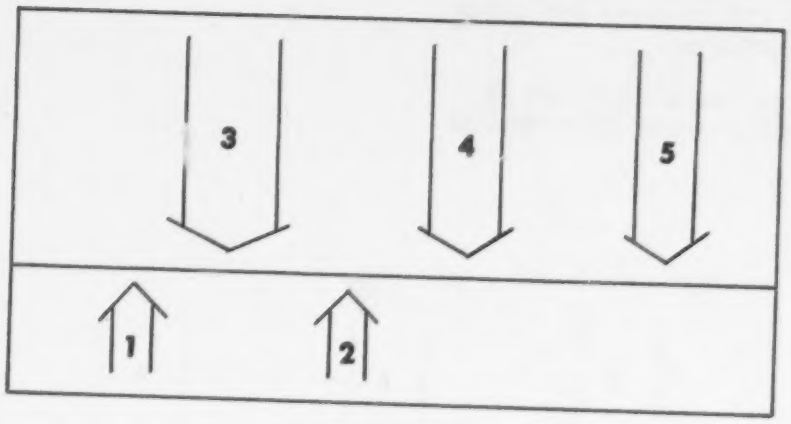
POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
1. Middle class status and recognition needs	5. Personal career orientation as a satisfaction of status needs
2. Cosmopolitanism of upper-middles	6. Traditionalist values of lower-middles and executive upper-middles—resulting in attitude crystallization on community and national concerns
3. High level of associational activity and identification with community	7. Mass media satisfaction of information needs
4. Middle class object-orientation, abstractions are important	



EDUCATION FOR SELF-DEVELOPMENT

Lower Class Level Generally

POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
1. Increasing leisure among some levels of working class	3. Concentration on lower level needs, lack of satisfaction of them
2. Diffusion of self-development concept through mass media	4. Restrictive perception of educational usefulness
	5. Action-orientation of lower-lowers



Education for Self-Development (continued)

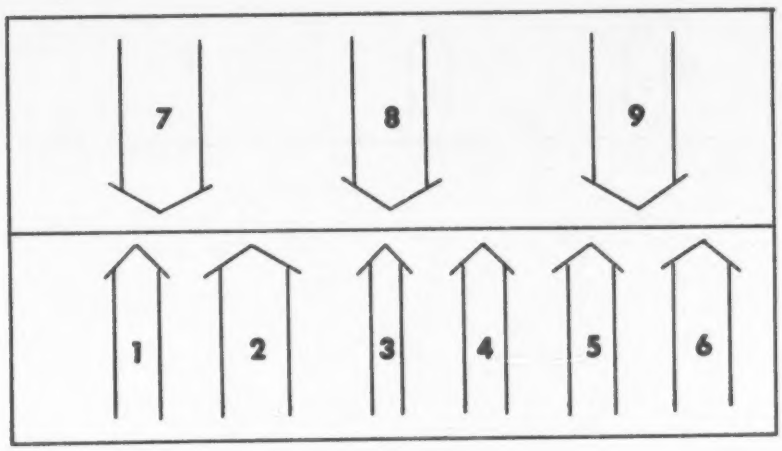
Middle Class Level Generally

POSITIVE

1. Upper-middle value emphasis on satisfaction of self-development needs
2. Frustration of self-development needs among upper-middle women
3. Social mobility drives of lower-middles
4. Emphasis on self-development in the educational experience of many middle class children
5. Upper-middle professional domination of training agencies for business and executive groups
6. Increasing availability of means for self-development

NEGATIVE

7. Strong emphasis on career, and domination of time by it
8. Family orientation of lower-middle women
9. Increased availability of informal educational means of satisfying needs in this area



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